

A
REMONSTRANCE
OF
THE STATE OF THE
KINGDOM.

Die Mercurii 15. Decemb. 1641.

It is this day Resolv'd upon the Question,
By the House of COMMONS, That Order shall be
now given for the Printing of this Remonstrance,
of the State of the KINGDOM.

Whereunto is added The humble Remonstrance
and Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament,
To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

Together

With a Declaration of the House of Commons,
touching a late Breach of their Priviledges, and for
the Vindication thereof, and of divers
Members of the said House.

Hen. Elsinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

- London, Printed for Joseph Hunsdon. 1641.





TO THE Kings most excellent Majesty.

The Humble

REMONSTRANCE AND PETITION OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesties most humble and loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, do with all faithfulness and zeal to your Majesties Service, acknowledge your Royall favour and protection to be a great blessing, and security to them for the enjoying and preserving of all those publike and private Liberties and Priviledges which belong unto them; And whensoever any of those Liberties or Priviledges shall be invaded or broken, they hold themselves bound with humility and confidence to resort to your Princely Justice for redresse and satisfaction. And because the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament are the Birth-right and Inheritance, not only of themselves, but of the whole Kingdom, wherein every one of your Subjects is interessed: The maintenance and preservation whereof doth very highly conduce to the publike peace and prosperity of your Majesty and all your people; they conceive themselves more especially obliged with all humblenesse and care; yea, with all earnestnesse and constancy of resolution, and endeavour to maintain and defend the same. Amongst other the Priviledges of Parliament; They do with all dutifull reverence to your most excellent Majesty declare that it is their ancient and undoubted Right; That your Majesty ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation, and debate in either Houses of Parliament, but by their information and agreement; And that your Majesty ought not to propound any Condition, Provision, or Limitation to any Bill or Act in debate or preparation in

either Houses of Parliament; or to manifest or declare your consent or dissent, approbation or dislike of the same before it be presented to your Majesty in due course of Parliament; And that every particular Member of either House, hath free liberty of speech to propound, or debate any matter according to the order and course of Parliament; And that your Majesty ought not to conceive displeasure against any man for such opinions and propositions as shall be delivered in such debate, it belonging to the severall Houses of Parliament, respectively to judge and determine such errors and offences in words or actions, as shall be committed by any their Members in the handling or debating any matters depending.

They do further declare that all the Priviledges above mentioned have been lately broken to the great sorrow and grievance of your most humble and faithfull Subjects in that Speech which your Majesty made in Parliament to both Houses upon Tuesday last, the fourteenth of this present Month of December, in that your Majesty did therein take notice of a Bill for impressing of Souldiers, being in agitation in the said Houses, and not agreed upon; And that your Majesty did therein offer a Salvo jure, or provisionall Clause to be added to that Bill, before it was presented to your Majesty by the consent of both Houses, and did at the same time declare your displeasure against such persons as had moved some doubt or question, concerning the same Bill. All which they do affirm and declare to be against the ancient lawfull and undoubted Priviledges and Liberties of Parliament.

And therefore they most humbly beseech your Majesty, by your Royall power and authority, to maintain and protect them in these and all other the Priviledges of your high Court of Parliament, That you will not for the time to come, break or interrupt the same. And that none of your loyall Subjects may suffer or sustain any prejudice in your Majesties favour or good opinion, for any thing done or spoken in Parliament. And for the reparation of your loyall Subjects, in this their just grievance and complaint, for the Breaches of their Priviledges above mentioned, and prevention of the like, for the time to come. That your Majesty will be pleased to declare and make known the name or names of the person or persons, by whose mis-information and evill counsell your Majesty was induced to the same, That so he or they may receive such condigne punishment, as shall appertain to justice in that behalf. And this They most humbly desire, and as your greatest and most faithfull Councell shall advise your Majesty to perform, as that which will be not only a comfort to themselves, but likewise a great advantage to your Majesty, by procuring and confirming such a confidence and unity betwixt your Majesty, and your People, as may be a foundation of Honour, safety and happiness to your Person and Throne, as they stand bound alwayes to pray for, and endeavour.

The



The REMONSTRANCE.

THE Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, having with much earnestnesse, and faithfuleesse of affection, and zeal to the publike good of this Kingdom, and His Majesties honour and service, for the space of twelve months, wrastled with the great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace and prosperity of this Kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all His Majesties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation, and strength of His owne Royall Throne; Do yet finde an abounding Malignity, and opposition in those parties, and factions, who have been the cause of those evils, and do still labour to cast aspersions, upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment Jealousies betwixt the King, and the Parliament; That so they may deprive him, and his people, of the fruit of his own Gracious Intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publike peace, safety, and happinesse of this Realm. For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare,

1. *The Root, and the growth of these mischievous designes.*
2. *The Maturity and Ripenesse, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*
3. *The effectuall means which have been used for the extirpations of those dangerous evils, and the Progresse which hath therin been made by His Majesties goodn̄sse, and the Wisedome of the Parliament.*

4. The wyes of obstruction, and opposition, by which that Progresse hath been interrupted.

5. The courses to be taken for the removing those Obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutifull, and faithfull intentions, and endeavours, of restoring and establishing the Ancient Honour, Greatnesse, and Security of this Crown, and Nation. The Root of all this mischief, We finde to be a malignant, and pernicious designe, of subverting the Fundamentall Laws, and Principles of Government; upon which the Religion, and Justice of this Kingdom, are firmly establisht. The Actors and Promotors hereof have been,

1. The Jesuited Papists who hate the Laws, as the Obstacles of that change, and Subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.

2. The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiasticall Tyranny, and Usurpation.

3. Such Councillors and Courtiers, as for private ends have engaged themselves, to further the interests of some forraign Princes, or States, to the prejudice of His Majesty, and the State at home.

The common Principles, by which they moulded and governed all their particular Councells and Actions, werethese,

First, To maintain continuall differences, and discontents betwixt the King, and the People, upon Questions of Prerogative, and liberty, that so they might have the advantage of sideing with him, and under the notions of men, addicted to his service, gain to themselves, and their parties, the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdom.

A Second, To suppreffe the purity and power of Religion, and such as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change, which they thought to introduce.

A Third, To conjoyn those parties of the Kingdom, which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations, to cherish the Arminian party in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and

and enlarge the differences betwixt the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and Ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to encrease and maintain ignorance, loosenesse, and prophanenesse in the people: That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians and Libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such Counsells and resolutions, as were most conducible to their own ends.

A Fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliaments by flanders and false imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage, then the ordinary course of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more losse then gain both to the King and people, and have caused the great distractions, under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jesuited Councils being most active, and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations; and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of His Majesties reign, the party begun to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damp't by the breach with Spain in the last yeer of K. James, and by His Majesties marriage with France; the interests and Councils of that State, being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdom, as those of Spain, and the Papists of England having been ever more addicted to Spain, then France; yet they still retained a purpose, and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was, the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two Subsidies to His Majesty; and before they received relief

in any one Grievance, many other more miserable effects followed. The losse of the *Rochel Fleet*, by the help of our shipping, set forth and delivered over to the *French*, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Town without defence by Sea, and made way not only to the losse of that important place, but likewise to the losse of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of His Majesties course of warres from the *West-Indies*, which was the most facile and hopefull way for this Kingdom to prevail against the Spaniard. To an expensfull and successlesse attempt upon *Cales*, which was so ordered, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of Warre, than to prosper in it. The precipitate breach which *France* by taking their Ships to a great value, without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbar'd, and confiscate in that Kingdom.

The peace with *Spain* without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King *James* to both Houses; whereby the *Palatine Cause* was deserted, and left to chargeable and hopeless Treaties, which, for the most part, were managed by those, who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that Cause.

The charging of the Kingdom with Billedted Souldiers in all parts of it, and that Concomitant designe of *Germane* horse, that the Land might either submit with fear, or be enforced with rigour to such Arbitrary Contributions, as should be required of them.

The dissolving of the Parliament in the second yeer of His Majesties reign, after a Declaration of their intent, to grant five Subsidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subsidies after the Parliament dissolved, by Commission of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yeilding to pay that Loan, whereby

whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses, as cost them their lives. Great summes of Money required, and raised by Pri-
vy Seals. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great pay-
ments from the Subject, by way of Excise; and a Commission
issued under Seal to that purpose. The Petition of Right, which
was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegall Decla-
ration, to make it destructive to it self, to the power of Parlia-
ment, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed
with it; and the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold
and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst break the
Laws, and supprese the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they
had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4. Car. the privilege of Par-
liament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House,
detaining them close prisoners for many moneths together, with-
out the liberty of using Books, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying
them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health,
not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of
their sicknesse. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after
yeers spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the ne-
cessary means of Spirituall consolation, not suffering them to
go abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods House, or Gods
Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in
their private Chambers: and to keep them still in this oppressed
condition, not admitting them to be bayled according to Law,
yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, sen-
tencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and
extorting the payments of those Fines from them; enforcing o-
thers to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be
released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still
continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessity had
not

not, the last yeer, brought another Parliament to relieve them, of whom, one died, by the cruelty and harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life did sufficiently appear by the declaration of his Physician : And his release, or at least his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud still cryes either for vengeance, or, repentance of those Ministers of State, who had at once obstructed the course, both of his Majesties Justice and Mercy.

Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations published, to asperse their proceedings, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them, even to speak of Parliaments. After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth yeer of His Majesty, Injustice, Oppression, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any restraint or moderation; and yet the first project, was the great summes exacted thorow the whole Kingdom, for default of Knight-hood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of Justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law; many other heavy impositions continued against Law; and some so unreasonable, that the summe of the charge, exceeds the value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately intansed, to a high proportion; and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegall and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of Justice, the common Birth-right of

of the Subject of *England*, wholly obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject neer 700000^l some yeers; and yet the Merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish Pyrats, that many great Ships of value, and thousands of His Majesties Subjects have been taken by them, and do still remaia in miserable slavery.

The enlargement of Forrests, contrary to *Carta de Foresta*, and the composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trained Bands of divers Counties. The desperate design of engrossing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without License; thereby to leave the severall parts of the Kingdom destitute of their necessary defence; and by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subjects. The generall destruction of the Kings Timber, especially that in the Forrest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store house of this Kingdom, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low water-marks. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades, and other Interest. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peeter-men. The sale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, conversion of Arable into Pasture, continuance of Pasture under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without

any considerable profit to His Majesty. Large quantities of Common, and severall Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewells, without their consent, and against it. And not only private Interest, but also publike faith have been broken, in seizing of the money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brass-Money. Great numbers of His Majesties Subjects, for refusing those unlawfull charges, have been vext with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the losse of Health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized, some have been restrained from their lawfull Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner, by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such Ports, as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Starchamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath been no offence, or very small; whereby His Majesties Subjects have been oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of Books, use of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neer Union which God hath establisht betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another, for many yeers together, without hope of relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence,

Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power, and Counsell of those, who were the Authors and Promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to do against their Oaths, and Consciences : Others have been so awed, that they durst not do their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clause *quam diu se bene gesserit* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause *Durante bene-placito* inserted. Lawyers have been checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients; Solicitors and Attorneyes have been threatened, and some punished for following lawfull Suites : And by this means all the approaches to Justice were interrupted and foreclosed. New Oaths have been forced upon the Subject against Law ; new Judicatories erected without Law : The Councell-Table have, by their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their free-holds, Estates, Suites, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl *Marshal* was Arbitrary, and Illegall in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts have been grievous in exceeding their Jurisdiction. The estate of many Families weakned ; and some ruined by excessive Fines, exacted from them for Compositions of Wardships. All Leases of above a hundred yeers, made to draw on Wardship contrary to Law. Undue proceedings used in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-Law Courts, seeing all Men more inclined to seek Justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desire, are known frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common-Law, and straying beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity to do Injustice. Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeantships at Law, and other Offices have been sold for great summes of money ; whereby the common Justice of the Kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great Trust,

and advantage to Men of weak parts ; but also by giving occasion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality ; It seldome hapning that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have been granted for examining the excesse of Fees : and when great exactions have been discovered, Compositions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending, for the time to come ; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed, and encreased the Grievance to the Subject. The usuall course of pricking Sheriffs, not observed, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way ; sometimes as a punishment and charge unto them ; sometimes such were pricked out, as would be Instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done. The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painfull, learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majesties good Subjects.

The High-Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severity, as was not much lesse then the Romish Inquisition, and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavy, being assisted, and strengthened by authority of the Councell-Table. The Bishops, and their Courts, were as eager in the Country ; and although their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigor, and extremity of punishment, yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generality, and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meauer sort of Trades-men and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdom, some into New-England, and other parts of America, others into Holland, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloath, which is not only a losse by diminishing the presen: stock of the Kingdom, but a great mischief by impairing

impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentifull Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were fitteſt for Ecclesiasticall preferment, and ſooner obtained it, who were moſt officious in promoting ſuperition, moſt virulent in railing againſt godlineſſe, and honeſty.

The moſt publike and ſolemn Sermons before His Maſteſty were, either to advance Prerogatiue above Law, and decry the property of the Subject, or full of ſuch kiude of invectives; whereby they might make thoſe odious, who ſought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and ſuch men were ſure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other imployments of power in the Government of the Countrey. Many noble Personages were Councillors in name; but the power and authority remained in a few of ſuch, as were moſt addicted to this party; whose resolutions, and determiňations were brought to the Table, for countenance, and execution, and not for debate, and deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppoſe them without disgrace, and hazard to himſelf: Nay, all thoſe that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes, though otherwiſe, persons of never ſo great Honour, and Abilities, were ſo far from being employed in any place of Trust, and power, that they were neglected, diſcourteſied, and upon all occasions injured and oppreſſed. This Faction was grown to that height, and entireneſſe of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which conſifted of theſe three parts.

1. The Government muſt be ſet free from all restraint of Laws, concerning our Persons and States.

2. There muſt be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it muſt not yet be called Popery.

3. The

3. The Paritans under which name, they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Popish superstitions, and Innovations, as might make them apt to joyn with England, in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgie were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergie, and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Army for their defence; and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesties own Gracious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobility, and Dutifull submission of the Scots, did so farre prevail against the evill Councell of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majesty returned with Peace, and much honour to London.

The unexpected Reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdom, except to the Malignant party, whereof the Archibishop and the Earl of Strafford being Heads, they and their faction began to enveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which so incensed His Majesty, that he forthwith prepared again for Warre. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper again: To which end they perswaded His Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seek Counsell and advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrell: And in the mean time, continued all their unjust Levies of Money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischief

mischief by a Law, or else to break it ; and with more colour to go on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alledged for the justification of this Warre was this :

That the undutifull Demands of the Parliaments of Scotland, was a sufficient Reason for His Majestie to take Armes against them, without hearing the Reason of those Demands ; And thereupon a new Army was prepared against them ; their Ships were seized in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected ; their Commissioners refused Audience.

This whole Kingdom most miserably distempered with Levies of Men and Money, and Imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those Levies. The Earl of Strafford past into *Ireland*, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give four Subsidies towards that Warre ; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes for the prosecution of it , and gave directions for an Army of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to be levied there, which were for the most part Papists.

The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of April, one thousand six hundred and forty.

The Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with their Party so prevailed with His Majesty, that the House of Commons was prest to yeeld to a supply, for maintenance of the Warre with *Scotland*, before they had provided any relief for the great and pressing Grievances of the people, wchich being against the Fundamental Priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to His Majesty, so farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into consideration, and two severall dayes it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-money alone ; A third day was

appointed for Conclusion, when the Heads of that Partie began to fear the people might close with the King in satisfying His desire of Money : But that withall they were like to blast their malicious designes against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that Warre.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the wayes of Confusion, in which their own evill intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended, the fifth of May one thousand six hundred and forty, this Party grew so bold, as to counsell the King to supply Himself out of His Subjects States by His own Power, at His own Will, without their consent.

The very next day, Some Members of both Houses had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets searched : Another of them not long after, was committed close prisoner, for not delivering some Petitions which he received by authority of that House, and if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sicknesse of the Earl of Strafford, and the Tumultuous rising in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution.

A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons, was published in His Majesties Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the Citie of London.

The Lord Maior and Aldermen in their severall Wards enjoyed to bring in a List of the Names of such Persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the summe they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused so to do, were committed to prison.

The

The Archbishop and the other Bishops and Clergy continued the Convocation, and by a new Commission turned it to a Provinciall Synod, in which by an unheard-of presumption, they made Canons that contain in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the Fundamentall Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the right of Parliaments, to the Propertie and Libertie of the Subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own Usurpations, Justifying their Altar-worship, and those other superstitious Innovations, which they formerly introduced without Warrant of Law.

They imposed a new Oath upon divers of His Majesties Subjects, both Ecclesiasticall and Lay, for maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergy for supply of His Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the Warre with Scotland, which twas by some of them styled *Bellum Episcopale*; and a Prayer composed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches, calling the Scots, Rebels, to put the two Nations into bloud, and make them irreconcileable.

All those pretended Canons and Constitutions were armed with the severall Censures of Suspension, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thrust out all the good Ministers, and most of the well affected people of the Kingdom, and left an easie passage to their own Design of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Popish party enjoyed such Exemptions from the Penall Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court Favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windibank, a powerfull Agent for the speeding of all their desires, a Pope *Nuntio* residing here to act and govern them according to

such influences as he received from Rome, and to intercede for them with the most powerfull concurrence of the Foreign Princes of that Religion: By his authority the Papists of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were convocated, after the manner of a Parliament; New Jurisdictions were erected of Romish Archbishops, Taxes levyed, another State moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant, or negligent professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce.

For the effecting whereof, They were strengthened with Arms and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers, enjoyned by the *Nuntio* to be weekly made for the prosperity of some great designe.

And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, intended to be issued to some great Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them: His Majesties Treasure was consumed, His Revenue anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great summes of Money; Multitudes were called to the Councell-Table, who were tryed with long attendances there, for refusing illegall payments.

The Prisons were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs summoned into the Starre-Chamber, and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money, the people languished under grief, and fear, no visible hope being left, but in desperation.

The Nobility began to be weary of their silence, and patience, and

and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them: And thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition his Majesty at such a time, when evill Councells were so strong, that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves, then redresse of those publike evils for which they interceded: whilst the Kingdom was in this agitation and distemper, the Scots restrained in their Trades, impoverished by the losse of many of their Ships, bereaved of all possibilitie of satisfying his Majestie by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdom, and without any hostile Act or spoil in the Country as they passed, more then forcing a passage over the Tyne at Newborne, neer Newcastle, possessed themselves of Newcastle, and had a fair opportunitie to presse on further upon the Kings Army: But duty and reverence to his Majesty, and brotherly love to the English Nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leasure to entertain better Councells; wherin God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the great Councell of Peers to meet at York, upon the twenty fourth of September; And there declared a Parliament to begin the third of November, then following.

The Scots the first day of the great Councell, presented an humble Petition to his Majesty, whereupon the Treatie was appointed at Rippon.

A present Ceſſation of Arms agreed upon; and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the wisedome and care of the Parliament.

At our first meeting, all Oppositions seemed to vanish, the mischiefs were so evident, which those evill Councillors produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them. Yet the work it ſelf afforded difficulty enough.

The multiplied evils and corruption of ſixteen yeers ſtrengthened by custome and authority, and the concurrent interest of

many powerfull Delinquents were now to be brought to judgement and Reformation.

The Kings Household was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply his ordinary, and necessary expences, without the assistance of his people.

Two Armies were to be payed, which amounted very neer to eighty thousand pounds a moneth ; the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burthenosome Projects.

The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome.

The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have reconciled.

Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if it be duely levied, may equall six Subsidies more, in all six hundred thousand pounds.

Besides we have contracted a debt to the Scots of 220. thousand pounds ; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdom above 200. thousand pounds a yeer. The Coat and Conduct money, and other military charges, are taken away, which in many Countreys amounted to little lesse then the Ship-money.

The Monopolies are all supprest, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yearly,

The Soap an hundred thousand pounds ; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds ; the Leather must needs exceed both : and Salt could be no lesse then that ; Besides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could be exactlē computed, would make up a great summe.

That which is more beneficiallē en all this is, that the root of those evils is taken away, which was the Arbitrary power pretended

tended to be in His Majesty, of taxing the Subiect, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to be against Law, by the judgement of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another step of great advantage is this : the living Grievances, the evill Councillors and Actors of these mischiefs have been so quelled, by the justice done upon the Earl of Strafford, the flight of the Lord Finch, and Secretary Windibank. The accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Judge Bartlet, and the impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not onely to be an easse to the present times, but a preservation to the future.

The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this Parliament by another Bill; by which it is provided, it shall not be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of both Houses. Which two Laws well considered, may be thought more advantagious then all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedie, and afford a perpetuall spring of remedies for the future.

The Star-Chamber, the High-Commission, the Courts of the President and Councell in the North, were so many forges of misery, oppression and violence, and are all taken away, wherby men are more secured in their persons, liberties and estates, then they could bee by any Law or example for the regulation of those Courts, or terror of the Judges. The immoderate power of the Councell-Table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope, that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publique liberty, will appeare in future times, but onely Stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise G o d for His M A I E S T I E S goodnesse, and the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon making,

king; are blasted by the Vote of both *Houses*. The exorbitant power of *Bishops* and their Courts are much abated, by some Provisions in the Bill against the *High-Commission Court*. The Authors of many *Innovations* in Doctrine and Ceremonies; The Ministers that have been scandalous in their lives, have been so terrified in just Complaints and accusations, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their owne folly, or outwardly restrained by the feare of punishment.

The *Forrests* are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; the encroachments and oppressions of the *Stannarie-Courts*; The Extortions of the *Clerk of the Market*, And the compulsion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying those Fines, are by other beneficall Lawes reformed and prevented.

Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of *Bishops*, for reforming the pride and idlenesse of many of the Clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom: Many other things of importance for the good of this Kingdom, are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more pressing busynesses, which yet before the end of this Session, we hope may receive some progresse and perfection.

The establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences may be cut off, and the necessary disbursments for His Majesties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for.

The

The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of Law Suits; The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increase of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdom may be increased, or at least kept from impairing, as through neglect hereof it hath done for many yeers last past; For improving the Herring fishing, upon our own Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the imployment of the poor, and a plentifull Nursery of Mariners for enabling the Kingdom in any great Action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other difficulties where-with we have been encounter'd, and which still lye in our way with some strength and much obstinacy are these: The malignant Party whom we have formerly described, to be the Actors and Promoters of all our misery; they have taken heart again; They have been able to preserue some of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and imployment even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to work in His Majestie ill impressions, and opinions of Our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not His, and had obtained from Him many things very prejudiciale to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this slander, We think good only to say thus much: That all that we have done, is for His Majesty, His greatnesse, Honour, and support, when we yeeld to give twenty fife thousand pound a moneth for the relief of the Northern Countreys, this was given to the King, for He was bound to protect His Subjects, they were His Majesties evill Counsellors, and their ill Instruments that were Actors in those Grievances which brought in the Scots: And if His Majesty please to force those who were the Authors of this warre to make satisfaction, as he might justly and easily do, it

seems very reasonable that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burden, being altogether innocent, and free from being any causes of it.

When we undertook the charge of the Army, which cost above 50000. pound a moneth, was not this given to the King? Was it not His Majesties Army? Were not all the Commanders under contract with His Majesty at higher rates, and greater wages then ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly Assistance of three hundred thousand pounds which we gave the Scots? Was it not toward repair of those damages and losses which they received from the Kings Ships, and from His Ministers? These three particulars amount to above 1100. thousand pound, besides His Majesty hath received by impositions upon merchandise at least 400. thousand pounds; So that His Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse since the Parliament began, one million and half, and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell His Majesty, that we have done nothing for him. As to the second Branch of this Slander, we acknowledge with much thankfulness that His Majesty hath passed more good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, then have been in many ages; but withall we cannot forget, that these venomous Counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts: And for both Houses of Parliament, we may with truth and modesty say thus much, That we have ever been carefull not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crown either in just profit or usefull power. The Trienniall Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a yeer; and for the manner of calling it, it is in the Kings power, that it shall never take effect, if he by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems the

to be some restraint of the Royall power in dissolving of Parlia-
ments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the ex-
ecution of it for this time and occasion only, which was so necel-
sary for the Kings own security, and the publike peace, that with-
out it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges,
but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and
the whole Kingdom to bloud and rapin. The Star-chamber was
much more fruitfull in oppression then in profit, the great fines
being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long
times.

The fines of the high Commission were in themselves unjust
and seldome, or never came into the Kings purse. These four Bills
are particularly and more specially instauced, in the rest there will
not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crown.
They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people,
and to bring them out of love with Parliaments : the aspersions
which they have attempted this way, have been such as these,
That we have spent much time, and done little, especially in those
grievances which concern Religion.

That the Parliament is a burden to the Kingdom, by the abundance of Protections which hinder Justice and Trade, and
by many Subsidies granted, much more heavy then any they for-
merly endured ; to which there is a ready answer : If the time
we spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to
the long growth and deep root of those grievances, which we
have removed, to the powerfull upports of those Delinquents,
by which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges
in of the Common-wealth, for which we have provided : or if it be
considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not on-
ly the present, but future ages are like to reap by the good Laws and
other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will be
thought by all indifferent judgements that our time hath been
to

much better employed then in a farre greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have been laid upon the Subject, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Justice; and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtle practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them, and us, one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of Delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the Reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: And by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffected and discontent His Majesties Army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous designes, the keeping up of Bishops in votes and functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And when one mischievous designe, and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of London had been discovered and prevented, they presently undertooke another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army neutral whilst the English Army which they had laboured to corrup-

and

and invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions should execute their malice to the subversion of our religion, and the dissolution of our Government. Thus they have been continually practizing to disturbe the Peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their emissaries and agents in them all, for the promoting of their divellish designes, which the vigilancy of those who were well affected, hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe, for execution in *England* and *Scotland*; only in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdom, totally subverted the Government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to joyn with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their main enterprise upon the City and Castell of *Dublin* had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding they have in other parts of that Kingdom broken out into open rebellion, surprising Towns and Castels, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies; and shaken off all bonds of obedience to His Majesty, and the Laws of the Realm; and in generall have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing upon the wisedome and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: And certainly, had not God in his great mercy unto this Land discovered and confounded their former designes, we had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the only means of our substance, and power of reformation is under him, in the Parliament; But what can we the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what conjunction

can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to crosse and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings. They infuse into the people, that we mean to abolish all Church Government, and leave every man to his own fancy, for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto His Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law, as well as with the temporall to regulate all the Members of the Church of *England*, by such rules of order and discipline, as are established by Parliament which is his great Councell, in all affairs, both in Church and State. We confesse our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds, that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Laws of the Land, to which end we past the Bill for the removing them from their temporall power and employments, that so the better they might with meeknesse apply themselves to the discharge of their functions, which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principall Instruments of crossing it.

And we do here declare, That it is farre from our purpose or desire, to let loose the golden Reins of discipline, and Government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations, to take up what form of divine Service they please; for we hold it requisite that their should be throughout the whole Realm a conformity to that order which the Laws enjoyn, according to the Word of God: And we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needlesse and superstitious Ceremonies, suppress Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry.

And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a generall Synod of the most grave, pious, learned and

and judicious Divines of this Iland, assisted with some from for-
raign parts, professing the same Religion with us, who may con-
sider of all things necessary for the peace and good Government
of the Church; and represent the results of their consultations
unto the Parliament to be there allowed of, and confirmed, and
receive the stamp of authority thereby, to finde passage and obe-
dience throughout the Kingdom. They have maliciously char-
ged us, that we intend to destroy and discourage Learning, where-
as it is our chiefeſt care and desire to advance it, and to provide a
competent maintenance for conſcioneble and preaching Ministers
throughout the Kingdom, which will be a great encouragement
to Schollers, and a certain means whereby the want, meanness,
and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject,
will be prevented. And we intend likewife to reform, and purge
the Fountains of learning, the two Universities, that the ſtreams
flowing from thence, may be cleer and pure, and an honour and
comfort to the whole Land.

They have strained to blaſt our proceedings in Parliament by
wreſting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine in-
tention. They tell the people that our meddling with the power
of Episcopacy, hath cauſed ſectaries and conventicles, when
Idolatry and Popiſh Ceremonies introduced into the Church by
the command of the Bifhops, have not only debarred the people
from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with
Elijah we are called, by this malignant party the troublers of the
State, and ſtill while we endeavour to reform their abuſes, they
make us the Authors of those miſchiefs, we ſtudy to prevent: For
the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impe-
diments, we conceive these courses will be very effectuall, ſeeing
the Religion of the Papiſts hath ſuch principals, as do certainly
tend to the deſtruſion and extirpation of all Protestants, when
they ſhall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place, to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoyding of such connivence and favour, as hath heretofore been shewed unto them, That His Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men, named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due means by execution of the Laws, to prevent any mischievous designes, against the peace and safety of this Kingdom. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the Church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdom.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes; and that Judges and Justices be carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Justices to be sworn to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws: That His Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers in managing his busynesse at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which we cannot give His Majesty such supplies for support of His own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out, that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminall; to be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament, or to speak contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are

are Factors or Agents for any forraign Prince of another Religion, such are justly suspect to get Counsellors places, or any other of trust concerning publike imployment for money: For all these and divers others we may have great reason to be earnest with His Majesty, not to put his great affairs into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: That all Counsellors of State may be sworne to observe those Laws which concern the Subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an oath, not to receive, or give reward, or pension from any forraign Prince, but such as they within some reasonable time, discover to the Lords of His Majesties Coucill: and although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That His Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsell, and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate sealed in a plentifull condition to support his honour, to see his people united in wayes of duty to him, and endeavours of the publike good; to see happiness, wealth, peace and safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his own Power and Government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and assisting one another for the common good of the Land, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongst ourselves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion; and to unite our selves against the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendship, to unite the forraign Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their libertie,

safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdom for our own good. For by this means our own strength shall be increased, and by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant profession. If these things may be observed, we doubt not, but God will crown this Parliament with such successe, as shall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happinesse to His Majesty, then ever yet was enjoyed by any of His Royall Predecessors.



A

Declaration of the House of C O M M O N S , Touching a late Breach of their Priviledges ; And for the Vindication thereof, and of divers Members of the said House.

VHereas the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks of Master Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Master John Pym, Master John Hampden, and Master William Strode, Esquires, Members of the House of Commons, upon Munday the third of this instant January, by colour of His Majesties Warrant have been sealed up by Sir William Killigrew, and Sir William Flemen, and others, which is not only against the Priviledge of Parliament, but the common liberty of every Subject : Which said Members afterwards, the same day were under the like colour, by Serjeant Francis, one of His Majesties Serjeants at Arms, contrary to all former Presidents demanded of the Speaker

Speaker sitting in the House of Commons, to be delivered unto Him, that he might Arrest them of high Treason. And whereas, afterwards the next day His Majesty in His Royall Person, came to the said House attended with a great multitude of men armed in warlike manner, with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, who came up to the very door of the House, and placed themselves there, and in other places, and passages neer to the said House, to the great terror and disturbance of the Members then siting; and according to their duty in a peaceable, and orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of England and Ireland. And His Majesty having placed Himself in the Speakers Chair, demanded of them the Persons of the said Members to be delivered unto him, which is a high Breach of the Rights, and Priviledges of Parliament, and Inconsistent with the Liberties, and Freedom thereof. And whereas afterwards His Majesty did issue forth severall Warrants to divers Officers, under His own hand, for the apprehension of the Persons of the said Members, which by Law he cannot do; There being not all this time, any Legall charge or accusation, or due Processe of Law issued against them, nor any pretence of charge made known to that House; All which are against the Fundamentall Liberties of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliament. Whereupon we are necessitated, according to our duty, to declare; And we do hereby declare, that if any Person shall Arrest M. Hollis, Sir Arth. Haslerigg, M. Pym, M. Hampden, and M. Strode, or any of them, or any other Member of Parliament, by pretence or colour of any Warrant issuing out from the King only, is guilty of the Breach of the Liberties of the Subject, and of the Priviledge of Parliament, and a publike enemy to the Common wealth. And that the Arresting of the said Members, or any of them, or of any other Member of Parliament, by any Warrant whatsoever, without a Legall Proceeding against them, and without consent of that House, whereof such Person is a Member, is against the Liberty of the Subject, and a Breach of Priviledge of Parliament; And the Person which shall Arrest any of these Persons, or any other Member of the Parlia-

ment, is declared a publike enemy of the Common-wealth the Nether-
standing, all which we think fit further to declare, That we are so farre
from any endeavours, to protec^t any of our Members, that shall be in
due manner prosecuted according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the
Rights and Priviledges of Parliament for Treason, or any other mis-
demeanors, That none shall be more ready and willing oben we our selves,
to bring them to a speedy, and due tryall, being sensible that it equally
importis us, as well to see justice done against them that are criminous,
as to defend the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and Parlia-
ment of England.

And whereas upon severall examinations taken the seventh day of
this instant January, before the Committee appointed by the House of
Commons, to sit in London, it did fully appear, that many Souldiers,
Papists, and others, to the number of about 500. came with His Ma-
jesty on Tuesday last, to the said House of Commons, armed with
Swords, Pistols, and other weapons; and divers of them pressed to the
door of the said House, thrust away the door Keepers, and placed them-
selves between the said door, and the ordinary attendants of His Majesty,
holding up their Swords, and some holding up their Pistols ready cock'd
near the said door; and saying, I am a good Muskeman, I can hit right
I warrant you, and they not suffering the said door, according to the
custome of Parliament to be shut, but said they would have the door
open, and if any opposition were against them, they made no question,
but they should make their party good, and that they would maintain
their party; and when severall Members of the House of Commons
were coming into the House, their attendants desiring that Room might
be made for them, some of the said Souldiers answered, A Pox of
God confound them, and others said, A Pox take the House of Commons,
let them come and be hang'd, What a do is here with the House of Com-
mons; and some of the said Souldiers did likewise violently assault,
and by force disarm some of the Attendants, and servants of the Mem-
bers of the House of Commons, waiting in the Room near the said
house;

house; and upon the Kings return out of the said House, many of them by wicked oaths, and otherwise, expressed much discontent, that some Members of the said House, for whom they came were not there, and others of them said, When comes the word, and no word being given at His Majesties coming out, they cryed a lane, a lane; after waras some of them being demanded, what they thought the said company intended to have done, answered, That questionlesse in the posture they were set, if the word had been given, they should have fallen upon the House of Commons, and have cut all their throats. Upon all which we are of opinion, that it is sufficiently proved, that the coming of the said Soldiers, Papists, and others with his Majesty to the House of Commons on Tuesday last, being the fourth of this instant January, in the manner aforesaid, was so take away some of the Members of the said house, and if they should have found opposition, or deniall, then to have fallen upon the said house in an hostile manner. And we do hereby declare that the same was a traiterous designe against the King and Parliament. And whereas the said M. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hasterigg, M. Pym, M. Hampden, and M. Strode, upon report of the coming of the said Soldiers, Papists, and others in the warlike and hostile manner, aforesaid, did with the approbation of the house, absent themselves from the service of the house, for avoiding the great, and many inconveniences, which otherwise apparently might have hapned: Since which time a printed paper in the form of a Proclamation, bearing date the sixth day of this instant January, hath issued out for the apprehending, and im-prisoning of them, therein suggesting that through the conscience of their own guilt, they were absent and fled, not willing to submit themselves to Justice. We do further declare, That the said printed paper is false, scandalous and illegall, and that notwithstanding the said printed paper, or any Warrant issued out, or any other matter yet appearing against them or any of them, they may and ought to attend the service of the said house of Commons, and the severall Committees now on foot. And that it is lawfull for all persons whatsoever to lodge,

harbour or converse with them, or any of them; And whosoever shall be questioned for the same, shall be under the protection and priviledge of Parliament.

And we do further declare, That the publishing of severall Articles purporting a form of a charge of high Treason against the Lord Kimbolton, one of the Members of the Lords house, and against the said M. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, M. Pym, M. Hampden, and M. Strode, by Sir William Killigrew, Sir William Flemen, and others in the Innes of Court, and elsewhere in the Kings name, was a high Breach of the priviledge of Parliament, a great scandall to his Majesty and his Government: A seditious Act manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace of the Kingdom, and an injury, and dishonour to the said Members, there being no legall charge or accusation against them.

That the priviledges of Parliament, and the liberties of the Subject so violated and broken, cannot be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unless his Majesty will be gratiouly pleased, to discover the names of those persons, who advised his Majesty to issue out Warrants, for the Sealing of the Chambers and Studies of the said Members, to send a Serjeant at Arms to the house of Commons, to demand their said Members, to issue out severall Warrants under his Majesties own hand, to apprehend the said Members. His Majesties coming thither, in his own Royall person. The publishing of the said Articles, and printed paper in the form of a Proclamation against the said Members, in such manner as is before declared; To the end that such persons may receive condigne punishment.

And this house doth further declare, That all such persons as have given any Councell, or endeavoured to set or maintain division or dislike, between the King and Parliament, or have listed their names, or otherwise entred into any combination or agreement, to be ayding, or assisting, to any such councell or endeavour, or have perswaded any other so to do, or that shall do any the things above mentioned; And shall not forthwith

with discover the same to either house of Parliament: Or the Speaker of either of the said houses respectively, and disclaim it, are declared publick enemies of the State, and peace of this Kingdom, and shall be inquired of, and proceeded against accordingly.



Die Lunæ 17. Januarii. 1641.

It is this day ordered, By the Commons Assembled in Parliament, That this Declaration shall be forthwith published in Print.

Hen. Elsing. Cler. Parl. D. Com.



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